1: Gallin

• 602

/Information on the ch'in ch'i -- matrilateral and affinal relatives--has been filed in category 612./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

lages themselves is rather insignificant, even though the party does claim some members in the local area. For example, many of the mainlanders who work in the area in some official capacity are Kuomintang members. Taiwanese involved in *hsiang* and *hsien* politics often belong to the party. In addition, some better educated Taiwanese who hold local civil service jobs in the Public Office or in the school system are members. There are even a few ordinary and uneducated village men who have been drawn into party membership, possibly from ambition. Thus, the village storekeeper and the twenty-one-year-old son of one of the poorer families of the village are party members. As far as can be determined, though, these men play an insignificant and relatively inactive part even in local party affairs. A perhaps typical attitude toward membership in the Kuomintang was "such things are not for honest working people."

VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

Hsin Hsing village itself has several elected officials which include a mayor, a village representative to the *hsiang* council, and the heads of each of the seven *lin* into which the village is divided. Of these offices, those of the mayor and the village representative are most important, since these individuals actually have a formal function within the village as well as in its outside relations. The mayor organizes and conducts the village meetings which are usually held once every two months, organizes the village for its annual work session on local public projects, and stands as the direct intermediary between the village and the police and local government. In a lesser way, the village representative who meets regularly with the district council serves the important function of maintaining the village's relationship with the other villages of the *hsiang* and with the *hsiang* officials.

The role of the *lin chang* (neighborhood chief) is relatively simple; he aids the mayor and village representative in communicating with the villagers. He summons the people to village meetings, work sessions, and any other official functions which require the participation of the whole village or a specific part of it. (Nonofficial village functions such as religious rituals are usually led by other men.)

As in traditional China, the village officials, i.e., the mayor and the village representative, who are now elected, in almost all instances are men of some means (usually large landholders or, most likely, landlords). They usually have many outside contacts through large family networks. Ideally, they are educated and generally respected, and preferably they are men with some local prestige who are willing to use that prestige for the benefit of the village. Again, as will be seen later,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

Villagers also have relationships beyond the village through economic, educational, and religious activities, and especially through matrilateral and affinal relatives.

T 628 575 682

THE POPULATION AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE

In 1958, the population of Hsin Hsing village was listed in the census records of the Pu Yen Hsiang office as 657 persons in 115 households.[6] A look at the available population records for Hsin Hsing and the twenty-two villages of Pu Yen Hsiang indicates a rapid but steady population growth for the area, which is in line with the trend in the rest of Taiwan. Population statistics for the village are available only for the period after 1953. Nevertheless, interviews with older people and reference to national statistics indicate that the population of Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after social order had been re-established. But, apparently starting in the late 1940's and especially in the 1950's, village population growth leveled out as the continuing increase was siphoned off by out-migration.

T 161 162 [127]

T [167]

With regard to the national population growth figures, Barclay notes that "over the entire census period (1905–1943) growth averaged 1.76 percent per year" (1954b:13). In the first two decades of the century the natural increase of the population was about one percent. "By 1940 Taiwanese were increasing at close to the rate of 2.5 percent per annum" (Barclay, 1954b:13).[7] For more recent years the average annual rate of population increase in Taiwan (1953–1956) was 3.8 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115).[8] The average annual rate of population increase for mainland China for this same period (1953–1956) was 2.2 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115). Of Taiwan, Barclay writes that "Natural increase of such dimensions is exceptional. Such growth in itself implies that some change has taken place in the organization of human activities" (1954b:13).

F Tn 161

This steady rise in rate of population increase cannot be the result of a rise in the Taiwanese birthrate. Over these years the Taiwanese birthrate shows a decline. The prewar birthrates in the 1930's were in the middle forties per thousand persons. In the immediate postwar period, apparently as a result of a continuing high degree of economic and political dislocation, the birthrates dropped to the high thirties. For the first half of the 1950's the rates were again up almost to the middle forties per thousand, but with a falling trend so that the 1957 and 1958 figures show less than forty-one births per thousand persons.

Tn 161

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

443 484 regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to [628] Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into 177 contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are 464 made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move 484 regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are 177 many other factors operative (some which we have already had an 628 indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors [891] such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. [575] Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the [312] Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese [602] kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as [582] well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

T
433
434
177
178
[654]

[423] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their
[242] traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income.
[167] This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban
[621] centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both liveli-
[628] hood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see,
especially later, that they have produced changes in social and politi-
• [602] cal patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual
reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organiza-
tion and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relation-
ships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

T
175 In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth
161 centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was
241 practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was
433 created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low,
464 and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supple-
[434] ment their family income with other forms of labor if available. In
that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local
village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation
facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly
wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as produc-
tion increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago,
when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

T
241 For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have
312 cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The
irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises
93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of
water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers
devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is
insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop,
when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the
cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown,
naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice
crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since
the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation
schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference
T in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the
[433] first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent,
because of the difference in season and available irrigation water be-
tween the two growing periods.

Tn
243 There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of
maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice,
and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japa-
nese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type
grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 426 [612] [602] the closest relationship. Thus, a villager might have a relationship of frequent mutual borrowing with family members, neighbors, or friends. Sometimes a villager borrows a farm implement from a *ch'in ch'i* (a matrilateral or affinal relative), and in that case no money is paid nor a feeling of obligation incurred. But usually, unless a *ch'in ch'i* lives nearby, it is not likely that a large piece of equipment can be borrowed.

241 426 571 [602] [427] However, the decision to borrow a tool from another depends upon how good the *kan-ch'ing*[3] is between the two people. This is true even for *ch'in tsu* relatives—such as patrilateral parallel cousins—whose *kan-ch'ing* may not necessarily be very good. If the *kan-ch'ing* between two people is not good and one lends the other a tool, then the borrower will feel an obligation toward the lender and worry about it and will later send a gift of something to the lender in order to cancel the obligation. Until this is done, the borrower feels uncomfortable. Therefore, rather than become involved in an uncomfortable situation, a villager often prefers to pay the NT $20 rent for a threshing machine to someone with whom his *kan-ch'ing* is not necessarily good. The payment makes it a simple commercial transaction, and there is no obligation.

241 426 427 Many villagers do not like to borrow an implement which seems to be in bad condition, since if it breaks down the borrower will be expected to repair it. Therefore, to avoid possible trouble, many villagers prefer to rent the implement so that they have no such responsibility.

241 426 571 But no matter whom the villager approaches for the loan of a tool, it is quite unusual to get an outright refusal. If the owner of the implement does not wish to lend it at all, or at least not to that particular person—perhaps because he has a reputation for not returning things promptly—he will offer some excuse. But since the villagers generally know quite well who is likely to be willing to lend them things, they limit their requests accordingly, and embarrassing situations do not often arise.

242 427 Certain implements, such as insecticide sprayers, which few farmers own, can be rented at a nominal charge from the local Farmers' Association. The government and the Farmers' Association are fostering the use of insecticides and thus make sprayers available.

241 422 474 [571] Most really expensive farm implements are owned jointly by several villagers. The families which join together to buy a threshing machine, winnower, stone rice grinder, insecticide sprayer, or water wheel do so for various reasons. Entering into a joint-purchase arrangement, however, is dependent upon the existence of good *kan-ch'ing* between them. Some households which are related, such as brothers or even patrilateral parallel cousins, may have inherited a threshing machine

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The presence of women working on the farm has been quite accepted in the rural areas since World War II, when manpower was in such short supply. Village women whose husbands spend a good deal of time working in Taipei are especially active on their own land. However, the heavier fieldwork such as plowing, harrowing, and transplanting is not considered women's work. Therefore, if the male of the household is away at the time, the woman must hire the necessary labor. Frequently, men who work in Taipei and still retain a small piece of land in the village come home for the busier farm seasons to take care of their own land if their Taipei job permits. Generally, these men hire or exchange labor for the harvest. They usually remain in the village area for the entire harvest period and work on other people's land in order to make their return to the village more profitable.

241 462 464 178 177

Hiring labor for plowing a field, planting hills of sweet potatoes, transplanting rice seedlings, or even harvesting a mint field is rather simple; the farmer merely hires the few individuals necessary to do the job, usually from his own village. They may be specialists in plowing or transplanting rice seedlings, or they may be just ordinary villagers who are hired to weed the rice paddies or harvest a mint crop and are pleased to get the extra work when they are not busy with their own fields. On the other hand, hiring labor groups for the harvesting of rice and sugarcane is quite a different matter and quite complex.

241 464

One very important type of labor group hired to harvest rice is a group of ten people. This group is most frequently all male, although women may be included and sometimes make up as much as half of the group. The male laborers usually prefer not to have women in the group; women cannot handle the heaviest jobs such as carrying the baskets of rice to the farmer's house, which makes it necessary for only the men in the group to do this exhausting work. Men over the age of seventeen or eighteen and below fifty-five are preferred for the harvest work. On the other hand, since women laborers are easier and cheaper to hire, many landholders prefer to have some women in the labor team to cut down on harvesting costs. However, if it is imperative to complete a harvest quickly, then even the landholder prefers not to hire women; it is felt that they tend to slow up the work. In the latter case, it is not unusual to hire more than ten people in order to complete the harvest in the shortest possible time.

Frequently, the hired labor teams have the same small core of men each year. The core group is usually composed of men from the same village who have little land of their own. Such a group often hires out in villages throughout the immediate area and may even go to other areas whose harvest is earlier than the Hsin Hsing area. A single Hsin Hsing villager who does not belong to such a group can sometimes find work in a labor group outside his own village, but then only if he has

(602)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 464 [602] a *ch'in ch'i* or friend elsewhere who can tell him about a labor group which is short a man or two.

The land-cultivator must usually make arrangements a week or two before the harvest in order to obtain the services of a labor team. In spite of the large population of the area, at harvesttime it is not easy to hire labor at the last moment, not only because many farmers harvest at about the same time, but also because so many local men are off working in Taipei. It is also for this reason that a labor team is often forced to complete its number with women.

There are several ways to go about hiring a labor team. If the group happens to be from the farmer's village there is no problem, since he knows about the team and has ample opportunity to make the necessary advance arrangements. Usually, however, there are not enough labor teams in one village, which makes it necessary for him to contact outside groups. The contact is perhaps most often made through someone who acts as a broker, who himself may be a member of a labor group. The broker is given a deposit of NT $1 for each of the team's ten members. The acceptance of this money has the force of a contractual obligation; the money itself is then kept by the laborers as a bonus.

241 464 612 602 Another method of contacting outside labor groups is accomplished through the arrangements of *ch'in ch'i* or friends who live in other villages and therefore know of labor teams. This source of contacts is especially fruitful, because Hsin Hsing villagers have many *ch'in ch'i* living in populous villages in the area. One large village about two miles from Hsin Hsing is a particularly good source of labor; its rice harvest is a good deal earlier than that of Hsin Hsing because the earlier arrival of the irrigation water there lets its farmers plant sooner.

241 464 [628] Infrequently, labor groups come from a greater distance to work in the Hsin Hsing area if they can be assured of work for several successive days. Several farmers may get together and hire the same labor crew for different days. In such instances the group sleeps in the village and receives all its meals from the farmers. And in this case, even the women who happen to be part of the labor group are fed all their meals.

More commonly, however, the labor groups are recruited from the immediate area; they therefore arrive for work early in the morning and go home in the evening. The members of such a group are fed "five meals a day." Two of these are mid-morning and mid-afternoon snacks eaten in the field as is the third meal, lunch. The other two meals are eaten at the farmer's house, but only the evening meal is elaborate. The women members of the labor group are fed only the two snacks and lunch in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

probably more than one-half of these loans are made to tenant farmers and to people who are both landowners and tenants. However, the funds available for such loans are limited, and can therefore play only a small part in alleviating the rural credit situation.

In 1958 there were also two types of loan systems sponsored by the provincial Food Bureau and administered by the Pu Yen Farmers' Association. One system, called Sheng Ch'an Tai K'uan, "Money Lending for Production," makes available through loans small amounts of cash directly proportional to the amount of land the borrower operates (owns or rents). For each *chia* of land he operates a farmer can borrow NT $600. Farmers who operate small amounts of land, like the majority of Hsin Hsing farmers, therefore do not like to borrow money under this plan since the amounts are too small and involve too much red tape. An additional, and perhaps greater, disadvantage of this system is that the money borrowed, plus the interest, must be paid back in rice rather than in cash. The rice to be repaid is not calculated at the market price but at the rather lower official price. Consequently, the farmer must pay back much more rice than he could have bought with the money he borrowed plus the interest.

The other Food Bureau loan plan is to aid poor people who do not have enough rice to eat. These people may borrow brown husked rice (unpolished) at a low interest rate. This rice loan must then be repaid in new unhusked rice. According to an employee of the Farmers' Association, the brown husked rice loaned out by the Food Bureau under the administration of the Farmers' Association is rice stored in the association warehouses which the Food Bureau wishes to get rid of before it spoils. The only people who are eligible for such a loan are poor people who grow rice.

The government Land Bank also offers loans, but these are usually made to large landholders who want the money to engage in business, offering their land as security. Thus, in times of financial need most small farmers must still resort to private moneylenders who require little security but charge interest rates of about 3.6 percent per month. Such loans are frequently for short terms because the interest rate is so very high. The moneylenders are usually landlords or former landlords and businessmen who have cash on hand and engage in such business as an investment. However, there are also small farmers who happen to have some cash on hand and lend it for a short time at the same high interest rates. These men will also sometimes lend small sums of money for a short time without interest to someone with whom they are intimate—some *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i*, or even some very close friends who are not related to them in any way.

Another common means of borrowing money in the Hsin Hsing area, and in urban centers, is through a moneylending club. These

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

'1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[6

Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

We have seen that one of the most important relationships for villagers is that which exists between families who claim a common ancestor in the village and who consider themselves to be members of the same patrilineal group, i.e., *ch'in tsu*. On the other hand, a villager who happens to bear the same surname without claiming descent from the common ancestor in the village is called a *ch'in t'ang*, the same term one would use for a complete stranger who happened to bear the same surname. However, in the belief that there was an original common ancestor on the mainland, *ch'in t'ang* in the same village or perhaps also in the immediate village area are felt to be much more closely related than *ch'in t'ang* from other places. And although the relationship is not considered to be one of actual patrilineal kinship, there is nevertheless some special feeling between village families bearing the same surname who believe that they share a common mainland ancestor. But generally, the majority of Hsin Hsing villagers can easily trace their common ancestry in the village itself as a result of its relatively short history.

INTERFAMILY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Since most patrilineal relatives either live in the same house or at least in the same part of the village, this relationship is in turn reinforced by physical proximity. At the same time, although the larger *tsu* of Hsin Hsing do not have ancestral halls (nor do even the three *tsu* villages of the area), the *tsu* do form religious families for the purpose of ancestor worship, as we have already observed. This is another factor which strengthens the bond between members of the same patrilineal group.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

degree, friends made through business dealings and other means outside the village.

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

In the ethnographic and other literature on Chinese social organization, only passing reference has been made to the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in Chinese life. The possible reasons for this are summed up by Fried (1953:95) when he writes that "kin relations which are beyond the clan . . . are quite difficult to describe, since they lack institutionalization and present few sweeping regularities on which generalizations may be based." He also notes that they should not be overlooked, "since in individual cases they may be of great value."

Most anthropological studies of the Chinese village have emphasized interfamily relationships within the *tsu* or smaller patrilineal kinship group. These are somewhat institutionalized and usually within the confines of the village. This is especially so in a *tsu* village where intra-*tsu* ties tend to overshadow any outside relationships. Writers such as Lin (1947) have discussed matrilateral and affinal relationships in the case of an individual family. In his book *The Golden Wing* we find much of the story revolving around the main character's economic relationships with matrilateral relatives outside the *tsu* village. In this study, however, the relationships are dealt with on the individual rather than on the general village level.

On a more general level, Freedman (1958:104) has noted the extension of the relationships of members of a lineage group through marriage outside the village. On the basis of the available literature, he writes, "Marriage opened up for any family possibilities of social contact with people in other communities . . . men were brought into touch with matrilateral kinsmen and affines, and the relations set up on these bases could clearly serve an important foundation for political and economic activity." But Freedman's main emphasis is lineage organization, and he offers neither much descriptive detail nor analysis of the relations with non-*tsu* kinsmen. This may be due in part to the meagerness of examples available in the literature which point up the actual extent of matrilateral and affinal relationships.

Matrilateral and Affinal Extensions of Hsin Hsing

The general pattern of close relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers with their outside matrilateral and affinal relatives is reciprocal, and would hold true for all the villages in the area with which Hsin Hsing has marital and adoption contacts. For this area at least, Hsin Hsing is far from unique. The relationships have practical value in three main

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

station association, the whole case would be of no avail. They had always held the idea that the poor man without influence could do nothing against the rich and influential. The latter two elements, money and influence, seemed to them to constitute ultimate power. To attempt to do anything against this power was useless. For them even the law was subject to influence by the individuals who hold the power. (This belief was undoubtedly reinforced during the period of Japanese rule, and the present government has done little to remove it.)

At the same time, the villagers felt that since Ta Yu was a neighboring village in which many Hsin Hsing villagers had relatives, if they were to continue to live in peace with Ta Yu and their relatives it was necessary to avoid doing anything which would contribute further to the tensions. After much discussion it became evident that the villagers preferred first to try again to mediate the problem. However, if this did not work out satisfactorily then the case would have to go to court, although they very much doubted that anything could be gained from a court trial.

A few days after the village meeting was held, the Ta Yu side again approached the village—this time through the mayor—asking that they again try to mediate the case. One of the influential men of the area had offered to be mediator at his home in another village about two miles down the road. Mayor K'ang of Hsin Hsing, an educated member of the large Huang *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village, and others of its villagers directly involved in the case attended the mediation meeting.[3] The mediator was a man who was considered to be biased in favor of Ta Yu, and he displayed his bias in the manner in which he tried to mediate the case. Still, since the role of the mediator is a very respected one, the Hsin Hsing villagers agreed to attend the meeting and stayed throughout the proceedings. They felt that it would have been disrespectful to the mediator to leave too soon and that, in addition, it would cause him to lose face, which was to be avoided. Nothing came of this meeting, since the mediator suggested that the Ta Yu side pay Li Fan and his father only a small amount of money as compensation for their injuries.

After several such futile attempts at mediation, the case was finally called up for investigation in the courts. The court procedure called for the accused and the accusers and their witnesses to appear in a special investigative court somewhat similar to a grand jury. The purpose was to investigate the charges, hear the witnesses, and then decide if the court should indict the accused.

The investigation is highly formalized. Since neither the accused nor the accuser may have their lawyer present, the only document on which the investigators base their inquiry is the original letter of accu-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided.

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house.

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride.

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins.

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return.

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 [264] who act as cooks for the occasion. The meal is elaborate and consists of many of the same meats, soups, and other dishes normally served at a festival dinner.

Burial

[787] During the course of the next day the actual burial takes place in the public cemetery at a time and place determined by a geomancer or *k'an feng shui te jen*. A number of tables are set up in the courtyard of the house beforehand, with many baskets of food prepared as sacrifices to the spirit of the dead displayed on them. These baskets of food, as well as lengths of dark colored cloth covered with written messages of condolence and money, have been sent by relatives and friends. The [431] money and cloth are sent to the family almost immediately after the death. The baskets of food and wine are sent the day the burial takes place.

Once the sacrifices and incense have been set up on the tables, the coffin is carried out of the house and placed at the head of the tables. [481] Many male mourners, including sworn brothers of members of the bereaved family, *ch'in ch'i*, friends, and neighbors—or representatives from the families of these people—then "worship" the spirit of the deceased, each performing an elaborate sacrificial rite on his hands [602] and knees. One of the "heaviest mourners" (those with the closest patrilineal ties to the dead man) accompanies each one in the ritual in order to thank him. Throughout the worshipping the women relatives, especially the daughters of the deceased, lean against the closed coffin and wail aloud.[8]

While this ritual takes place outside the house, a small group of village men goes to the cemetery to dig the grave. When it is time for the burial, the coffin is carried on the shoulders of several men to the cemetery, followed by the mourners. Usually, only the heaviest mourners and close friends accompany the coffin the whole distance (about two miles) to the cemetery. However, many others who attended the funeral come out to the road to send off the coffin and mourners. While still on the road near the village, the closest lineal [602] relatives of the deceased suddenly turn to these others and crawl on [481] their hands and knees toward them. This is done as a form of obeisance, to thank them for their participation and to beg them not to bother to go to the cemetery. Then the mourners are helped to their feet by friends and more distant relatives such as *ch'in ch'i* and run to catch up with the coffin and the other mourners.

764 At the cemetery an elaborate ceremonial is conducted by a man who 791 is often a combination geomancer and shaman (*fa shih*). In his capac- 756 ity as geomancer, he is present to see that the coffin is placed in the proper position, and as shaman he is expected to invite the gods to the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

example bolster the declining role of the village as a source of security and identification. Considering their potential, such men contribute relatively little to their villages.

Coupled with this has been the more recent decline of the traditional landlord leadership as an effect of the Land Reform Program and an ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership which has developed in the village. When leadership was sorely needed, as in the Li Fan case for example, the villagers actually turned to me, the alien anthropologist, as a potential source of leadership and help. Many former leaders, now prefer not to become too involved in other people's problems or those of the village. In fact, it is now often difficult for villages to find qualified and respected men even to run for the office of mayor or to assume the responsibilities of a leadership role.

The ever-increasing vacuum of qualified leadership affects not only the operation of the village but that of the *tsu* organizations. One important area of village life adversely affected by the lack of leadership is the apparently increasing inability to resolve local conflict by the traditional method of mediation which was usually carried on by respected *tsu*, village, or area leaders. A particular mediator was selected according to the relationship of the disputants and the nature of the conflict, which might involve intravillage or intervillage disputes over water for irrigation; disputes over landownership and property boundaries; or power struggles between families, especially between *tsu* organizations, over such questions as village administration or the expenditure of funds by village or *tsu* for religious or festive activities; and so on.

Almost always, regardless of the nature of the dispute or the level on which it occurred, mediation had been sought and applied with these aims: first, that the scope and resolution of the conflict be kept localized so as not to invite possible government interference into village affairs, and, second, that the resolution permit the diputants to continue to live harmoniously together. Villagers felt a great degree of permanency since most, tied as they were to the land and to their village, were likewise tied by the particular kinds of relationships developed over the years with local people, both kin and non-kin. There were few opportunities to leave the area, land, or kinship group and go elsewhere so as to avoid the repercusions of an ill-settled dispute.

In recent years, however, it has been becoming increasingly difficult to resolve conflict through mediation and to achieve these aims. In part this is a result of the deterioration of the accepted hierarchal relationship system on both the kin and non-kin levels. On the non-kin level the concept or code of *kan-ch'ing* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and the quality of interpersonal relations governed by it have been weakened. The situation developed largely when the traditional land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

[5] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

Chapter 5: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

[3] These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for

furnishings decline and fall apart, their deterioration reflecting the decline and fall of the original family.

In the third or fourth generation after its construction, the typical village house is abandoned for better quarters. By that time the roof and even the walls will have begun to deteriorate rapidly, and it is usually simpler for the residents to separate and build new homes than it is for them to make a joint effort to repair the older building. We can thus trace in the history of the village a cycle of rise and decline which is closely related to the cycle of the typical village family. Beginning as a small rectangular building housing a single 厝, the house grows with the growth of the family into a large compound, and then gradually deteriorates with the division of the family into independent units each of which eventually leaves to build a new house. This process repeated again and again is the history of the formation of Hsiachichou, and is clearly evident in a correlation of degree of kinship with proximity of residence. If a number of persons live in the same house and share the same stove they are almost certainly related in the first or second degree; if they live in the same house but do not share the same stove they are most likely related in the second or third degree; living in adjacent houses they are more likely to be related than unrelated but often only distantly; while if they live in different sections of the village they are likely to be unrelated or only very distantly related.

Despite the far reaching changes which have taken place in Taiwan in the past fifty years, life in the village of Hsiachichou has in

*584 at all common. All one can say, then, is that while a sīm-pûà is in
*593 some sense married as a child, she is not married in the same sense
*597 as the woman who has entered into a conjugal relationship. She becomes a married woman vis à vis her parental family only after the conclusion of the second ceremony makes her the wife of a male in her foster family as well as a daughter-in-law of her foster parents.

*584 But whatever the status of a sīm-pûà as a child, the relationship
*593 between her natal family and her foster family is ideally the same as
*597 that between the two parties to the preferred patrilocal marriage. The
• 602 two families are expected to use the usual affinal kinship terminology
[601] with regard to one another, and they are also expected to behave in terms of the roles associated with the use of this terminology. Such affinal ties are at best nominal, however, and in most cases they are not recognized at all. When she is still a child a sīm-pûà will sometimes be taken to visit her natal family, and on occasion her mother may visit her in her foster home, but these few contacts seldom create strong ties between the two families. Most sīm-pûà strongly resent their parent's having given them away in adoption, and as a result refuse to stay with their parents or sometimes even to talk to them. Moreover, those few girls who do establish some relationship with their parents do not ordinarily form attachments with their real siblings, so that once their parents die they are not inclined to continue a relationship with their parental family. A sīm-pûà's natal family and her foster family might, of course, pursue an affinal relationship regardless of the girl's involvement, but Chinese families apparently have much

less interest in extending their kinship ties than many anthropologists have been led to suppose. According to informants in Hsiachichou, one of the advantages of the sĭm-pûà form of marriage is that it saves one the trouble and expense of additional relatives. That most families enter into the sĭm-pûà form of marriage with the expectation that the affinal ties will remain latent is indicated by a simple comparison with the preferred patrilocal marriage. Whereas the parties to the preferred marriage make elaborate inquiries concerning one another's social statuses, the parties to a sĭm-pûà marriage are typically concerned with nothing more than the child's health.

In the case of Hsiachichou the customs characterizing matrilocal marriage are not as easily described as those which characterize either the preferred form of marriage or the sĭm-pûà marriage. For one thing, the procedures by which one arranges a matrilocal marriage are not clearly defined, the attitude of the villagers being that one arranges a matrilocal marriage as best one can. For another, there are several categories of matrilocal marriage, each of which has some distinctive characteristics. When a villager says of any particular marriage that the husband was "called in" he may be referring to any one of three different arrangements. One extreme form includes those husbands, who, from a structural point of view, may be considered male brides. At the time of their marriage these men resign their place in their own line of descent and take on instead the obligations and privileges of a son in their wives' line. Like a woman in either the preferred form of marriage or the sĭm-pûà marriage, they replace their father's surname

the traditional matrilocal marriage. Such marriages do at least provide for the economic security of families who do not have sons of their own, and as the times change there will undoubtedly be a weakening of the beliefs that now make it important for parents to have a large family and descendants of their own.

The most important single criterion distinguishing the various forms of adoption recognized in Hsiachichou is the sex of the adopted child. The childless American family will usually first decide whether or not they want to adopt a child, and after this decision is made they will then consider the sex of the child. Often they do not care whether the child is a boy or a girl; their goal in adopting is to obtain a child. The situation is very different with the average Hokkien family. To them the adoption of a male and the adoption of a female are not alternative ways of satisfying the same need. A family who is interested in adopting a male child will not ordinarily consider the possibility of adopting a female child, and the family who is thinking of adopting a female child is often not at all interested in the possibility of adopting a male. The motivation for the two forms of adoption often springs from different concerns, and the two acts are recognized as always having very different social consequences.

The language of adoption in Hsiachichou recognizes two distinct forms of male adoption. In one case, the act of adoption is referred to with the verb chī, and the adopted child is spoken of as a kùe-páng-kla:. In the other, the verb indicating the act of adoption is either bŭe or bùe, depending upon whether one is speaking of the family who is

giving the child or the family who is receiving the child, the adopted child being termed a biēng-liēng-kiàn. Although no term with a social referent ever has an exact equivalent in a language spoken in another society, the verb chī is not too inappropriately translated with the English verb "to adopt." The adoption does not in any way alter the existing social relationship between the two families who are parties to the adoption, nor does it involve an exchange of gifts or compensation for the one family's loss of a member. As is the case with adoption in most English speaking countries, rights in the child are transferred freely and without further social implications. The difference is that whereas the English verb "to adopt" is appropriately used for any transaction involving the transfer of rights in a child, the use of the Hokkien term chī is limited to those cases in which the two families are agnatically related. When the parties to the adoption are not agnates the act of adoption is referred to with the verbs būe and bùe. The family who receives the child is said to have "bought" him (bùe), and the family who gives the child in adoption is said to have "sold" him (būe). As in the case of adoptions involving agnates, such transactions do not alter existing social relationships, but they do involve the payment of a considerable sum of money by the adopting family. The use of the verbs "to buy" and "to sell" is not metaphorical. Whereas a family adopting a child from an agnate is not required to give any compensation whatsoever, the family adopting a child from a non-agnate must ordinarily offer what for most families amounts to the equivalent of a year's income.

*597 • 602 The use of the term khe-páng-kiá: to refer to children adopted from agnates suggests that such adoptions usually involve families which are closely related, the literal translation of the term being "the child who crosses the house." Since it is usually only close agnates who live in the same house, a "child who crosses the house" must be the child of close agnates, and this is in fact commonly the case. The term is appropriately used to refer to any male child adopted from an agnate, but it is seldom that such adoptions involve families who are not related in the first or second degree. The implications of the term biēng-liēng-kiá: are somewhat more obscure. A biēng-liēng is apparently a flying insect the life cycle of which requires the participation of the earthworm. After laying its eggs, the insect deserts them, depending upon the worm to hatch the eggs and thus perpetuate the species. A biēng-liēng-kiá: is therefore a child of parents who are willing to see him given over to someone else's care, they themselves not caring whether or not he survives. As the term is used in Hsiachichou, it does not seem to imply any scorn of the child who is given away in such an adoption, but it does imply criticism of the parents who would be willing to surrender a male child. Considering the importance which is attached to the principle of continuity in the male line, such an attitude is not at all surprising, for the selling of a male child implies a lack of concern for one of the most highly regarded of all cultural values.

Among the wealthier landlord families of the Taipei basin a distinction is made betwen the status of an adopted son who is a biēng-

liēng-kià: and one who is kùe-páng-kià:. Tuzuru Okada quotes a proverb to the effect that a kùe-páng-kià: receives a full share of an inheritance while a biēng-liēng-kià: receives only a half share.[1] In Hsiachichou, however, the only distinction between the biēng-liēng-kià: and the kùe-páng-kià: is in terms of their origin. Once they have been admitted as members of the adopting family, children who were formerly the sons of agnates and those who were the sons of non-agnates occupy the same position. They are both sons of their foster families. They take their foster parents' surname and are thus obliged to produce male children to perpetuate the family line, and they are equally entitled to a share of whatever inheritance the foster parents bequeath to their descendants. That one is of the blood of the family line while the other is not does not seem to be a matter of any concern in Hsiachichou. As one informant explained, "It doesn't matter where you adopt a son. Once you adopt him he is your son."

The situation of the adopted daughter is very different. Whereas adopted sons are distinguished in terms of their status before adoption, adopted daughters are distinguished with reference to their status after adoption. An adopted male is always a son of his foster parents, but an adopted female may occupy any one of several statuses. She may be a daughter of the family; she may be a potential wife and daughter-in-law; or she may be simply a family servant. The existence of these three categories is most clearly reflected in naming customs and the application of the incest taboo. A girl who becomes a daughter of the adopting family substitutes their surname for that of her natal family,

---

1 Uzuru Okada, Kiso Chaki, op. cit., p. 7.

511 426 build a new house, most families are forced to borrow money. As a local wit said, "In times of crisis the clever have to depend upon the stupid and the stupid have to depend on Tien Kung." Only the wealthiest three or four families in the community are in a position to fall back upon their own resources in an emergency.

593 602 888 One of the effects of living in such an economy is that no matter how hard a man may labor during his lifetime he will still be unable to accumulate the means to support himself in his old age. The most the average villager can expect is to be able to save enough money to buy himself a respectable coffin. He must depend upon someone else to support him when he is no longer able to work, and the only people who can be trusted to do this are his own children. There are no government or philanthropic agencies to which a man can turn for aid in his old age, nor can he expect much of his kinsmen. If a man lived all of his life with his brothers, contributing to the support and education of their children, these children would be obliged to support him in his old age, but if the family was divided, as is almost always the case, he could not expect even his brother's children to come to his aid. The mutual support which characterizes kinship relations in Hsiachicou assumes reciprocity. One cannot expect help from relatives when the situation is such that they cannot expect a return within a reasonably short period of time. When we asked villagers if they would support an elderly relative whose sons had died, they typically replied that "a person ought to do that." When we asked if they thought that their own relatives would support them if their sons died,

*593 the answers given were less equivocal. The majority agreed that the most
• 602 they could expect was "a cheap coffin," and many felt that even this was
888 setting one's expectations too high, one man replying that "they would
[189] just throw you in the river." The norms of the society enjoin a man to support an elderly and destitute relative, but there is little expectation that these norms will be honored. A man's only alternative therefore is to have children who are bound to him by the formal requirements of filial piety and the natural sentiment of the parent child relationship. As a villager explained, "On Taiwan no one asks you how much land you have. Here people ask you how many sons you have. You can work when you are young, but when you are old you have to have children to take care of you."

*593 When asked the most important reason for having children, several
181 villagers insisted that economic security was the only reason. Playing
842 on Mencius's famous dictum, one man told us that "the most unfilial
888 thing a son could do was not to support his parents," and another younger man answered by quoting a proverb to the effect that "it is better to have money in one's pocket than sons in one's house." But like all sarcasm and most wit, these answers only have force as comments on an accepted value. A man must have sons to support him in his old age, and he must provide these sons with wives if he is to expect them to fulfill their obligations as sons, but were old age security his only concern his interest in descendants would end here. As we have seen already, most men do not live long enough even to see their grandchildren marry, and so there is little need for a man to have grandchildren

as insurance against a destitute old age. Yet one of the most compelling concerns of most elderly villagers is "to see their grandchildren before they die." In order to achieve this goal, they often force their sons into early marriages, and, if their son's wives prove barren, they may threaten to repudiate them, or if necessary, even adopt grandchildren. It is a great joy for an elderly man to be able to say that he has many children and grandchildren "to see me to the mountain when I die," and it is the great hope of every grandparent that he will be one of those few whose funeral procession is led by a small child dressed in blue, the mourning color for the deceased's great-grandchildren. Beyond the need to have someone to support you in your old age is the need to have descendants, to die assured that there will be someone to perpetuate the family line. To insure the comfort of one's old age is an important motive for having children, but the full value of children cannot be entirely represented in economic terms. They stand as testimony of a man's having fulfilled his duty to his own parents, and they make secure his own achievements and his claim on the future.

On the altar which stands opposite the main door to every village home are the family's ancestral tablets, small rectangular slips of planed wood, rounded on the top like grave-stones, and inscribed with the posthumous names of the deceased members of the family. Since the family is ideally patrilineal, these typically include the head of the household's father and mother, his father's father and father's mother, and so forth, for as many as five or six generations. The general rule is that a family's tablets will include all of those

769 adults who died as members of the family. If two brothers of a previous
• 602 generation did not divide their parental household during their lifetime, one may find the head of the household's brother or his father's brother represented among the family tablets, or, if at one time there was a matrilocal marriage in the family, one may find among the tablets the names of the head of the household's father's sister and his father's sister's husband. In one unusual case we found hanging next to the family's altar a small red packet which was devoted to a man who had lived for a long time with a woman of the family after her husband had died. The family included this person's name among their tablets because he "had no family of his own and because he had been a member of our kê for a long time." The only deceased members of a family who are not represented among the tablets are those persons who died before they reached marriageable age. A person who dies as a child can only be included among the family's tablets after his own father and mother have died. If the family should happen to suffer some misfortune after their deaths, a shaman may suggest that this is because some previous member of the family who died as a child is angry, and it may then be necessary to add his name to the altar as a means of placating him. By this time, the person is always of a senior generation relative to the living members of the family, and so as a father's brother or a grandfather's brother it is only proper that he be honored as an ancestor. He cannot be so honored during his parent's lifetime because he is then of a junior generation, and also "because he was so unfilial as to die before his parents."

769 go in preparing special dishes for particular ancestors. When the family with whom we lived made their annual deathday offerings to the father of the head of the household they always included sweet rice cakes because the old man had been particularly fond of them.

769 753 Even those villagers who deny that the ancestors "really eat those things" are somewhat less certain about what might happen if the offerings were discontinued completely. We found numerous examples of illnesses and other misfortunes which were attributed to the neglect of an ancestor. The various misfortunes of one village woman were attributed to her deceased father-in-law who was angry because she had failed to cook his favorite dish for the New Year's offerings; the illness of a child was ascribed to his father's deceased parents who were said to be angry because their son had made a matrilocal marriage; and the illness of another village child was interpreted as being the result of his grandfather's older brother's "coming to call him." This man had died without children of his own, and so the family was advised to give him their son in adoption as a means of placating him. If a family neglects their duties towards the ancestors, the ancestors may plague them with illness and other misfortune, but it is important to note that the ancestors do not represent a more general morality. They are concerned only with their own good and the good of the family, not with general morality and the good of society. When we asked villagers if their ancestors would punish them for committing a crime, such as theft or murder, the typical response was, "Why should they do that? We are all members of the same family. We are

769 602 577

their sons and grandsons." Without exception, every instance of an ancestor's "coming to ask for something," a euphemism for misfortunes attributed to an ancestor, was explained to us in terms of the person's having neglected some duty to his family, not to society at large.

In return for the support of their living descendants the ancestors are expected to look after the general welfare of the family and to do their best to fulfill the specific requests of the living. When his ancestors fail in these duties, the average villager is angry and indignant, just as the ancestors are angry when he fails in his duty toward them. When his wife became ill a villager by the name of Lim Bi-kok appealed to his ancestors for help, and on their advice removed and rebuilt his stove at considerable expense. Unfortunately, his wife died. Worse yet, a few months later Lim Bi-kok's mother became ill, and again he appealed to his ancestors and again with lack of success. His mother also died. This flagrant failure on the part of his ancestors made Lim Bi-kok so angry that he took the family tablets down to the river, chopped them into little pieces, burned the pieces and threw the ashes into the river, proclaiming himself a Christian. Lim Bi-kok does not deny that there is some sense in which his ancestors exist; he only feels that "there is no use in making sacrifices to such useless people." Since this episode, Lim Bi-kok has become a relatively wealthy man, and his prosperity is often cited by the village skeptics as evidence of the impotency of the ancestors, but ancestor worship is not so frail a doctrine as to be overthrown by one such example. Although it has now been fourteen or

It is interesting to note that
[597] Ong Chun-a's husband was the second of two sons, and that the older
593 brother had several male children who were not sold. Ong Chun-a's husband's parents could afford to sell their second son's male children because they had other grandchildren to carry on their family line. If Ong Chun-a and her husband had been in a position of authority in the family, they probably would not have sold all four of their sons. When asked how she felt about selling her four children, Ong Chun-a answered, [718] "In those days we did what our parents told us." We do not know for certain who made the decisions in the other four families who sold male offspring, but the position of the children in the family indicates that it was probably their grandparents. Three of the four were the children of later born sons, and in all three of these cases the father's older brother had male children at the time the sale took place.

597 It was thus only the very poor who ever sold any of their male
602 children, and they only did so after the continuity of the family line was assured. What then of the khe-páng-kià: form of adoption? How frequently did families give male children in adoption to an agnate? The question is an interesting one because the considerations which enter into the decision are entirely different. The khe-páng-kià: form of adoption does not require the adopting parents to compensate the child's parents, and so there is no question of material gain in giving a child to an agnate. The family which relinquishes one of their male children to an agnate does so because they feel obliged to help their kinsmen, or because they hope that by helping their kinsmen they will create obligations which will later be of use to them. The decision thus

597 involves weighing the relative importance of lineal and collateral
602 kinship ties. The family which gives a child to an agnate naturally strengthens their ties with the adopting family, but they do so by sacrificing a potential tie with the descending generations of their own line. The question which a family must put to itself is this: Are strengthened ties with one's agnates worth the price of an heir and descendant? The answer is no. The frequency of such adoptions in Hsiachichou indicates a clear preference for lineal ties as the more
[178] dependable and more significant. Although every family living in Hsiachichou has had agnatic kinsmen who did not produce sons in one generation or another, we find that not one of the 110 males born into the village before 1930 was given out as a khe-pang-kia:. The only two such adoptions of which we have any record occurred after 1930, and neither of these are really exceptions to the preference for lineal ties. In both instances a child's grandparents decided to give a childless son one of his brother's male children. These two adoptions were thus made from lineal rather than from a collateral perspective, and did not invole a sacrifice of lineal ties for the sake of collateral ties.

562 In speaking of a male infant a village mother will sometimes refer
842 to the child as her pou-pue, her "treasure." The term is never used with reference to female infants, nor is there any female counterpart of the term. The term which one hears repeatedly with reference to female children is the term liau-ci-nue, "something to lose money on." Male children are "treasures" because it is through its male offspring

made by a man who was for a long time a highly successful trader on the mainland of China. The only case of male adoptions by families which we know to have been poor were cases in which the family did not have to buy the child. These included the one case in which an agnate gave a boy in adoption to a village family, and one other in which a sim-pûa was allowed to marry out of her foster family on the condition that she give her first born child to her foster brother whom she was to have married.

Unlike Chinese in many other parts of the country, the people of Hsiachichou do not insist that an adopted son be of the same agnatic line as his foster parents. The attitude of people here is that "once you adopt a child he is your own no matter whom you adopt him from. It doesn't matter whether he is of the same blood or not." But while the people of Hsiachichou do not worry about the pedigree of a child bought from a stranger, they do worry very much about the child's loyalty to his foster parents. The child's parents may later attempt to persuade him to return to his natal family, or the child may himself discover the fact of his adoption and want to return to his parents. As an example of the dangers involved in buying a child our village informants often cited the current difficulties of a village woman by the name of Ong Chun-ieng. After having worked for a number of years as a prostitute in Taipei and Wanhua, Ong Chun-ieng adopted a male child whom she sent to live with her own foster mother in Hsiachichou. Later Ong Chun-ieng was arrested and imprisoned for using narcotics, and the boy became part of a gang "living in air raid shelters and making their living by stealing."

*583
591
538

that "he couldn't even afford a bride price." Even if a man's parents are dead or living with one of his brothers and he is himself obviously capable of earning a living, he still cannot entirely avoid the onus of having married into his wife's family. It is generally understood that a man loses face by making a matrilocal marriage, and the man who makes such a marriage may therefore always be accused of "not caring about face." As is so often the case with stereotypes, this one is self-perpetuating. The very fact that a man makes a matrilocal marriage is sufficient proof that he is "just the kind of man who would marry into his wife's family."

*583
591
606
602
578

Another reason many men give for reluctance to marry matrilocally is the difficult position they would occupy in their wife's family. The man who makes a matrilocal marriage is often treated by his wife's relatives as though his status were closer to that of a child than an adult male. He is expected to defer to them in all matters, and he may be reprimanded and criticized without regard to his status. This was particularly noticeable in the case of a man by the name of Ong Bun-iek who had married into the family of a former prostitute who already had several illegitimate children at the time of their marriage. Living in a large compound in which he was surrounded by his wife's relatives, Ong Bun-iek was forever subjected to overweening authority. One day while we were talking to him one of his wife's children complained that he had given him less rice than he had given to his own children. Ong Bun-iek scolded the child, and when the boy wouldn't stop complaining, hit him. Ong Bun-iek's wife's father's

younger brother happened to be in the room and said something to the effect that Ong Bun-iek was "always favoring his own children." Ong Bun-iek denied this whereupon the other man threw a package of ginger in his face, precipitating a fight which ended with both men wrestling on the floor of the kitchen. Although other members of the several families living in the house were quick enough in interfering to stop the fight, we noticed that there was no sympathy whatsoever for Ong Bun-iek's viewpoint. As one of his wife's relatives explained to us sometime later, "That man is always telling other people what to do even though he married into his wife's family and should be watching other people's faces."

Should a man who has married matrilocally lose his ability to earn a living, his wife's relatives may even go so far as to force him out of the family. A matrilocal marriage seems to be an almost exclusively contractual relationship which does not create the broader social obligations characteristic of a patrilocal marriage. It is undertaken by the woman's parents with certain specific expectations in mind, and if these are not fulfilled the family does not feel any obligation toward the man who entered into such a contract. We know of at least two instances in which a woman's parents forced her husband out of the family because he was no longer making what they considered an adequate contribution to the family income. In one case the family had at first been unable to find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, and as a result had been forced to send their daughter out to work as a prostitute. A few years later she met a man who had a

X583
591
602
606

good job as a goldsmith in a local town, and when he seemed willing to make a matrilocal marriage the parents were happy to welcome the man into the family as a son-in-law. For a number of years these arrangements apparently worked well enough for both parties, but then in the sixth or seventh year of the marriage the man lost his job. Unable to find another job as a goldsmith, he tried to make a living peddling candies and toys and other small commodities, but he was apparently too old and too unaccustomed to the work to make any of these ventures pay. His wife's relatives then began to criticize him unmercifully until at last he simply took his two children and disappeared. Far from being distressed about this result, the wife's parents seemed to be relieved. According to her mother,

> "It is better not to get married than to marry this kind of a man. Everyone says that a woman will have an easier life after she gets married, but if you marry a man like this you have to grind harder than ever. That man! The first thing he said when he lost his job was that he was going to sell sweet rice, and so I bought all of the things for him, but when he went out he always brought all of the cakes home. Then he said he was going to sell pig's blood, and he worked for one day doing that. Then he tried to sell balloons and other things for children, but he couldn't make a success of that either. He always brought them all home with him. I didn't have any more money for him to try anything else. His wife said, 'Let's go gather rocks', but he said that it was too hard a kind of work for him and wouldn't go. Then he went out to buy junk, but he still just lost money for us. No one was willing to give him any more money after that, and so he just sat home. That's all. That kind of man! He had to let his wife go out and make money to feed him. Can you still call such a creature a man? When he went out to sell things he just sat there like he was dead and didn't call out to people. Of course he didn't sell anything. And just think of what he looks like. As soon as they took one look at him people wouldn't buy anything from him. And when we said a few words to him about it, he turned it around and said we were trying to get rid of him and that that was why we said things to him."

121 182 and sisters will not tolerate. By the time he is five or six years old the average child has learned that if he tells his mother a playmate hit him he will get punished for fighting, but if he tells the other child's mother he obtains the satisfaction of having his tormentor beaten "to let him see." Perhaps such early experiences lay the foundation for an adult appreciation of the complexities of the social world. If this is the case, an interesting possibility arises. It may then be that the utility of functional analyses in anthropology varies with the extent to which childhood experiences help to produce a socially sophisticated adult.

121 182 583 592 621 602 Aside from determining the extent to which the people of a society are aware of the effects of certain social arrangements, it would also seem important for the anthropologists to discover how much weight they gives to these effects. While the people of Hsiachichou seem to be aware that the three forms of marriage create three different types of affinal ties, they do not seem to attach much value to the potential advantages and disadvantages of these variations. Although several informants did mention the lack of affinal obligations as one of the advantages of the sim-pôa form of marriage, the more harmonious mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship was always mentioned as the more salient advantage of such a marriage. In fact, it would seem that the villagers generally consider the internal structure of the family as more important than the nature of the ties between families. It was only in explaining the advantage of village exogamy that our informants commonly referred to inter-family ties, and even here they

seemed more concerned with the effects of these ties upon relations within the family than with the character of the external ties themselves. Rather than choosing their affines from outside the village in order to protect the relations between the two families from the disturbing effects of the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship, the villager wants to keep his affines at a distance so that their presence will not exacerbate relations within the kê. Contrary to the assumption now fashionable in some anthropological circles, it would seem that the people of Hsiachichou favor village exogamy as a means of preserving the family rather than as a means of establishing alliances outside of the community. Perhaps the situation is different among business men and bureaucrats. People of this class would have more to gain from a wide network of social relations and may therefore be more concerned about affinal ties. Insofar as the village of Hsiachichou is concerned, however, marriage is more often thought of in terms of its effect upon the internal structure of the family.

The cost of the alternative arrangements, the prestige they entail, and their social consequences are probably taken into account in every decision about marriage and adoption. What decision is actually reached, however, depends upon at least one further factor: who it is who makes the decisions. Although they may share many of the same values with regards to the family and its goals, the junior and senior generations of the kê inevitably look at decisions about marriage and adoption from a very different perspective. For the head of the household and his wife, a marriage is a means of acquiring a daughter-in-law,

the sīm-pûa marriage dropped sharply. While more than a third of all marriages made in the years before 1930 were of this variety, there have only been two such marriages in the years after 1930. Since this change was a direct consequence of the younger generation's dislike of the sīm-pûa form of marriage, we can say that the causes of their distaste are also among the determinants of the present social structure of Hsiachichou. A higher frequency of sīm-pûa marriages in the village in the preceding thirty years would have meant weaker affinal ties for many families, a more harmonious relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, a less satisfactory husband-wife relationship, and probably a much higher frequency of extra-marital relations. By refusing to marry their foster siblings the younger generations of the village brought about a sharp change in both the internal and external relations of their community. Why then did the younger generations of the family reject the sīm-pûa form of marriage? In our earlier discussion we considered two possible explanations. As Edward Westermarck's view of the incest taboo suggests, it may be that the intimacy which obtains between foster siblings results in their having an aversion to sexual relations; or it may be that the social identification of foster siblings as "brother" and "sister" provides the basis for an inadvertent generalization of the incest taboo. We cannot decide between the two hypotheses on the basis of these data alone, since the two crucial variables are confounded. The parties to a sīm-pûa marriage always grow up in intimate association, and they are also always identified as "brother" and "sister." There are, however, other data which indicate that the

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

444 This seemed to lead Mr. Ng to think of all the others who had
426 debts with him and he listed them and their debts and their incomes
521 and their ancestors, all in an unsavory light. He ended with a dramatic wail, "Everyone wants to eat me—who am I supposed to eat?" and disappeared into the back of the store. Before the crowd had a chance to move off though, he called out to his wife in a fine stage voice, "Old woman! From now on don't you give anything to anybody without seeing their money."

444 The women sitting on the benches chatted for a while longer and
426 even though some of them were on Mr. Ng's list, they were generally
• 602 sympathetic to the plight of the country storekeeper. One woman
571 summed it up nicely: "It really is hard to run a country store if you
369 don't have a lot of money because all of your neighbors that you have known for generations and all of your relatives come and want things when they don't have any money, and so you just have to give them the things. Sometimes you know that if you give things to this person, he will never give you the money, and so you tell him this, and then he gets mad and says that you don't respect him and goes all around to people saying you have insulted his family. If you don't give things to people, they get mad at you, but if you do, you can't make any money. It really is hard to run a store in the country."

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 3

[p. 23]

HOUSES AND FAMILIES

The interaction of the Taiwanese villager with his friends and neighbors is like the spice in his soup, savory but of little sustenance. It is with his family, his parents and grandparents, his children and grandchildren, that he takes the measure of his life. His relations with his parents may be strained, with his wife distant, and with his children formal, but without these people he would be an object of pity and of no small amount of suspicion. He would be pitied because he had no parents to "help" him and no children to support him in his old age, pitied because he had no place in a group, because he didn't belong anywhere. For these same reasons he would be the object of suspicion. A man not thoroughly imbedded in a network of kinship cannot be completely trusted because he cannot be dealt with in the normal way. If he behaves improperly, one cannot discuss his behavior with his brother or seek redress from his parents. If one wants to approach him about a delicate matter, one cannot use his uncle as a go-between to prepare the way. Wealth cannot make up for this deficiency any more than it can make up for the loss of arms and legs. Money has no past, no future, and no obligations. Relatives do. A young man orphaned as an adolescent or otherwise separated from his immediate kinsmen commonly marries into his wife's family. As this usually involves his agreeing to assign some of his children to his wife's father's line of descent, a man who marries in this fashion bears the stigma of having abandoned his parents and his ancestors—but this is preferable to an isolated existence. A man with a good job could find a wife among the entertainers of the city, but he wants more than a

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

The police registration for the house lists Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Lim Chui-ieng; their six children; Lim Chieng-cua's older brother's widow, Lim A-pou; her unmarried son, Masa; her married son, Lim A-bok, and his wife; and their two children. During the two years we lived with them, the Lim family always had at least one other relative accepting their hospitality. The enormous task of providing for this large family is shared by the adult members of the household according to a careful division of labor. As the eldest male, and therefore the head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua serves as general manager, deciding when and how the family income is to be used, and, being the most worldly member of the family, he also manages the family business, the cement bag factory that employs from four to twelve village girls. Lim A-bok, a man in his late twenties, takes primary responsibility for farming the family's five or six acres of land, arranging for the sale of its produce as well. In the kitchen, Lim A-pou's daughter-in-law and Lim Chieng-cua's wife share the large task of cooking for the family, each woman taking the responsibility for five days at a time. In so far as he does anything, Masa helps his older brother in the fields. Lim A-pou's main responsibility is gathering, chopping, and cooking food for the family's dozen or so pigs, but with her amazing energy and efficiency, she also finds time to help her slow daughter-in-law in the kitchen, and during the rush seasons of harvest and planting, she works with her sons in the fields.

This division of labor enables the family to support itself much more efficiently than if they were divided into smaller nuclear family units. As he is physically unable to do heavy labor himself, Lim Chieng-cua needs someone to farm his share of the family land, and for his part, Lim A-bok has neither the experience nor possibly the temperament to run the family business. Although an intelligent man, he has not yet developed his uncle's easy and effective manner of expressing himself, nor has he the reputation as a leader in the community that this skill has brought Lim Chieng-cua. Because of Lim A-bok's skill and industry as a farmer, however, he occupies an unusual position in the community for a man his age. The farmers of the village, old and young alike, choose him to represent them in the various government and cooperative farm groups and look to him for the interpretation and evaluation of the information received from these groups. For the women of the family, the arrangement has the advantage of giving each of them a break from the monotony of

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 4

[p. 36]

LIM HAN-CI: THE FATHER

[596] [159] The desire to simplify the character of the dead, to be done with the variations of mood that complicate day to day interactions, to indulge in the luxury of absolutes, seems to be a universal human tendency. [173] The father of the present head of the Lim family has been dead for less than a decade, but already the story-tellers of Peihotien have woven the many anecdotes about him into the uncertain fabric of legend. Lim Han-ci's dour personality, his tremendous strength, his harshness, the determination with which he worked—all have become part of the legend. Even when the saga is modified by reminiscences of those who knew him as father, grandfather, or trusted friend, there emerges a personality from which epics are born. He was a hard man. He spoke little and then only after putting considerable thought into his choice of words. His temper terrified his family and neighbors, and he used it more as a technique he summoned at will than a faul: he could not control. His justice was as harsh as his voice. Although liberties may have been taken with Lim Han-ci's character since his death, the fact remains that he has had no small effect on his children and on his community.

If Lim Han-ci had any brothers, they died before marriage. A married brother would have left descendants in the village, and there were none. Whether or not Lim Han-ci had sisters is difficult to say. I was never introduced to a sister or a sister's child, but this does not mean they do not exist. Women marry out of their natal village and often their children lose all contact with their mother's relatives. [591] [602] All I could learn of Lim Han-ci's childhood is that his father earned a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

and thus is unable to take care of him in his old age, the father is expected to ritually beat the coffin at the funeral, "to punish the child for being so unfilial as to leave his father alone in his old age." One can imagine what the reaction of a man such as Lim Han-ci must have been to this open and public revolt on the part of his son. His neighbors condemned the boy as unfilial, but for Lim Han-ci this held little solace. It only increased his humiliation. Rather than accepting the exoneration of his neighbors, he recognized his failure for what it was. With his remaining children he struggled, with some success, to soften the harshness of his character.

The very fact that Lim Hue-lieng dared to defy his father and set out on his own is evidence of a confident, stubborn personality. He had no money to buy land and establish himself as a farmer, and what few jobs were available in factories and shops usually went to the relatives of the proprietors. Lim Hue-lieng was able to assert his independence without economic disaster because of the unusual qualities of leadership he possessed and the position he was building for himself in the *lo mua*. The *lo mua* is a purely Chinese institution for which it is difficult to find a Western parallel. I am tempted to call it an organization of gangsters because of its methods, but since many of its goals are to uphold the traditional morals of the society, the parallel is specious. The *lo mua* contribute heavily to the repair of temples and to the expenses of religious festivals. They have been known to severely punish outsiders who, from ignorance or poor judgement, suggest lewd activities to respectable women of their area. They frequently protect the down-trodden for no charge, and just as frequently force their protection on the wealthy at near ruinous prices. A business man on bad terms with the *lo mua* may find his shop robbed weekly while his neighbor who is more careful in his relationships hardly need lock his doors at night.

The details of Lim Hue-lieng's career between the time he left his father's home and his reappearance there in his late twenties are known only by way of gossip and hearsay. Probably no one knows all the steps in his career, but by the time he was twenty-five, he had established his leadership over all the *lo mua* in a large section of the Taipei basin, and his influence was felt in the Taipei market place, reputedly the center of *lo mua* activity. I know that he had been jailed a few times, but was always promptly released; that he had been in hiding several times, whether from the police or from rivals I am not

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Chieng-cua. If she left him now, he might think I put her up to it. I told her no matter what the difference in pay was, I wouldn't let her go because Lim Chieng-cua is her relative and it would be an embarrassment to work for someone else and not for him. She has worked in the factory for four years now. When she started, she only earned NT$4.50. At first her wages only increased by 40¢ each time, but last year she started to get an increase of NT$2 each time he raised wages. That isn't so bad."

For an adopted daughter A-hua's life, by village standards, is not uncomfortable. Her family is better off than half their neighbors, and her mother is kind. Nonetheless, she is an adopted daughter. Her mother, who grew up as an adopted daughter herself, points out succinctly what this status, or more correctly, lack of status, means: "Gioq-ki is not an adopted daughter so she doesn't have to do much around the house and can refuse to do something she doesn't want to do. A-hua might say no, but I still make her do it. That is the difference."

A-hua's life would be very comfortable indeed if it were not for her elder sister. Gioq-ki is imperious, demanding, and well-versed in the obligations of an adopted daughter. She uses her younger sister as a drudge and as a scapegoat for her own frustrations. Their mother does not often interfere, partly because she is afraid of the temper Gioq-ki inherited from her fierce father, and partly because she accepts her treatment of A-hua as the fate of an adopted daughter. She is far too kind to allow any of the physical cruelties that used to be inflicted on adopted girls, but nothing in her world has ever suggested that adopted daughters can expect much more than this. One day when I was visiting in the large compound of Lim So-lan's mother's family, A-hua came running in, her face streaming with tears, looking for her mother. It was unusual to see A-hua upset—in general, she is a stolid, uncomplaining girl who bears her sister's arrogance patiently.

So-lan had stepped next door for a moment. The other women of the compound tried to calm A-hua as she poured out her troubles. "Gioq-ki told me to give Bun-iek [Gioq-ki's three-year-old son] a bath, but when I got his clothes off he kept saying the water was too hot. Really it wasn't hot, it was already too cool. But he kept insisting and so I said, 'All right then, if you won't take your bath, I'm going to take mine first for a change.' This usually makes him change his mind. Gioq-ki heard this and got mad and started shouting at me to give him

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

When I have to buy something, I have to go and ask Lim Chieng-cua for it."

Lim A-pou is not one of the village "wanderers," but she is less constrained now about airing her grievances to one or two sympathetic neighbors than she once was. She is always careful as to what she says, touching only on disparities that are apparent to all. The extent to which she exploits the villagers' general lack of sympathy with Lim Chieng-cua's wife is adroit. One of my favorite "wanderers," always eager to tell me about Lim family affairs, reflects the none too subtle influence of A-pou in her views: "In the Lim family, the work is divided between two brothers, but now that one brother is dead, that half of the family has it very hard. They take care of the fields but have to give all of the money they earn to Lim Chieng-cua. There is a lot of bad feeling between the two wives, Chui-ieng and A-pou. Chui-ieng always wants to manage everything. When Lim So-lan lived in the house she often suffered from that woman. Sometimes when So-lan was cooking, Chui-ieng would purposely drop sweepings into the food so that the old man would scold poor So-lan. Even A-pou felt sorry for So-lan. Chui-ieng never talks to A-pou if she can help it, and she never faces her fully when she does have to tell her something.

"They ought to divide the family and I don't see why they don't. Maybe there aren't any relatives who can do it for them [i.e., act as arbiters on the division of the property]. Lim A-pou's people work very hard in the fields and give all the money to the family. Lim Chieng-cua manages the cement bag factory. Who knows whether or not he gives the money the factory earns to the family? He had to borrow a lot of money and now the family is deeply in debt. He ought to let A-pou manage the family money and see if she can't do better."

The debts to which this woman refers illustrate Lim A-pou's misunderstanding of the management of the family factory. When Lim Chieng-cua is so fortunate as to receive a large order from one of his contracting companies, he is not paid until the order is filled. Since this might mean two or three months work and his factory workers cannot go unpaid longer than a week without suffering real hardships, he uses both factory accounts and family accounts to pay wages. On occasion he is forced to borrow from relatives to meet any large expenses that might arise in his own family. All too frequently the gossips note the borrowing but not the repaying.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 8 [p.99]

TAN A-HONG: AN ADOPTED DAUGHTER

Except on the coldest days and for a few hours each night, the doors of the houses in Peihotien are never closed. A closed door in the daytime would arouse concern or suspicion and would surely bring a group of neighbors to inquire as to what the trouble might be. Few strangers come to Peihotien and when they do, they nearly always send one of the swarming children to run ahead and announce to Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong that he has a visitor. A neighbor looking for Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong simply walks into the house calling his name, and if Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong does not answer, he walks on out again. An intimate friend or relative walks into the house even more casually, wandering through the passageways until he finds someone, courteously coughing before pushing aside the curtains of a bedroom door in his search. Until I became familiar with the faces of the intimates of the Lim family and with the villagers who dropped in there frequently, I had the uncomfortable sensation that the narrow passageways of our house were thoroughfares at least as public as the lanes outside. The situation was even more confusing to me as a newcomer because the number of people actually living in the house varied from week to week. During the harvest season, gangs of workmen came up from the south to cut the rice and stayed in the house for the three or four days it took to harvest the Lim fields. When Lim A-bok strained his back, a young relative lived in the house and helped with the field work. At least twice an old woman distantly related through Lim Han-ci's wife stayed in the house for several weeks while the Lims tried to patch up

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

her quarrel with her daughter. Other relatives came to stay for a few nights or a few months.

When Tan A-hong appeared with her five-year-old daughter, I had become so used to the stream of visitors that I didn't even bother to ask who she was for a week or so. I knew, of course, her surname, but when I casually asked A-bok's giddy wife if she was a relative, I dismissed the confused yes-and-no of her answer as just one more sample of A-ki's disorderly thoughts. However, as Tan A-hong's visit lengthened, we noticed that she consistently used kinship terms when addressing the Lims. She was visited frequently by an unusually attractive young woman who was introduced as her daughter and who was treated by the Lims as a much beloved family member. It did not take many questions to discover that Tan A-hong was the adopted daughter Lim Han-ci had given to another family when his own daughter was returned by her foster family. Tan A-hong remained in our house for several months and when one of the small village houses owned by the Lims became vacant, she moved into it, becoming a resident of Peihotien.

By Taiwanese standards, Lim Han-ci had been generous in his treatment of Tan A-hong. Since she was "only an adopted daughter," he would have been justified in selling her to the highest bidder when he found he no longer had reason to keep her and could no longer afford to keep her. The highest bidders in those days were dealers who bought attractive female children to raise as prostitutes, wealthy families who wanted slaves, or prostitutes who adopted daughters to raise in their profession as support for their own old age. Instead of this, Lim Han-ci arranged for A-hong's future in the way he would have arranged the future of a daughter born to him: he found a family who wished to adopt a girl as their son's future wife. A-hong was not sweet-tempered, even as a girl. The family who adopted her evidently had second thoughts about marrying her to their son. She was married out of the family. At least A-hong claims that her exit from the Tan family was by way of a respectable marriage, but the facts of her subsequent career and her retention of the Tan surname cast some doubt on this. The marriage, if it existed, was brief, for Tan A-hong soon moved to southern Taiwan where she earned her living as a prostitute. It was at this time that she further altered her name to include the character for phoenix (*hong*) which is often found in the professional names of women who follow her calling.

Legally and socially, the obligations of the Lims toward A-hong

121 F. L. K. Hsu in an article entitled "The Myth of Chinese
59 Family Size" (1943). Subsequent to Hsu's article, almost every anthropologist-sinologist includes a section in any article about the Chinese family that echoes this discovery about the frequency of its small size (Lang, 1946; Lee, 1949; M. Levy, 1949; Gallin, 1966). However, one still finds many new articles on the Chinese family by others more removed from the mainstream of the sub-discipline which are either citing earlier literature or are citing quotes of quotes which still describe the Chinese family system as if the extended family were the norm. Before Hsu's article (1943), Fei had written (1939:27) that "the basic social group in the village is the chia, an expanded family." However, a careful examination of his data reveals that in his village the large family was rare. He calls it "curious" that "in less than ten percent of the total number of Chia [sic] do we find more than one married couple" (1939:28). In summary, Fei does furnish data which support the arguments for the high frequency of the small family size although he concludes the opposite.

121 For another illustration, consider the only re-
• 602 cently realized importance of the role of affinal relatives in the Chinese kinship system first recognized by Gallin (1960). Gallin's report stressed their importance at the level of the peasant sector of the society as well as the elite. Affinal relatives in China, in spite of a

supposed overwhelming emphasis on patrilineality, have been "discovered" to be important in economic and political spheres as well as in such other spheres as marriage, funerals, education, certain birthdays, childbirth, etc. Subsequent reports take Gallin's discovery into account. For example, A. P. Wolf (1968) stressed the importance of the need to establish a network of affinal relations as one factor promoting traditional marriage forms in a Taiwanese peasant village.

As suggested previously, the re-examination of earlier reports also reveals clues to the importance of affinal relatives. The partnership which dominates Lin Yueh-hwa's study of Chinese familism (1947) consisted of a pair of affinal relatives. Although Fei placed great emphasis on agnates, he does indicate some significance for affinal extensions (1939:86-7). Finally, Freedman concludes (1957:225-31) that the kinship system in Singapore does not place an emphasis "on the groupings of people into agnatic groups" which is found in Fukien and Kwangtung. The importance of affinal relatives is one of the factors negating this expected emphasis. Because his conclusions which were based on observation are different than his expectations which were based on the literature, he considers Singapore to be deviant (1957:225). In the terms of the concept previously delineated, it may well be the case that if he were to make observations in Fukien and Kwangtung, he might also conclude that they too were

621 592 Individual villagers are combined into chia (families) and hu (households). Although the two terms are not necessarily synonymous, in Sanlei they are effectively identical for each hu consists of a single chia. Although there is a range from one to nineteen, the average size of the chia is 6.2 members in Sanlei, and 6.25 members for all of Talei Li including Sanlei. These household averages are significantly larger than the 5.8 listed for Taiwan as a whole (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969:712-3).

621 602 613 Although not listed in the official government records, a number of chia in the village are combined into several distinct agnatic corporate groups (see Chapter V). Historically, Sanlei was a single surname village but not all the agnatic groups in the village could specify the kinds of relationships they had to each other in detail. However, "all people bearing one surname were by that fact, agnates, for they were considered to be descendants of a common ancestor in the male line" (Freedman, 1958:4). Villagers with the same surname considered themselves to be kinsmen and surname exogamy was absolute. In the last forty years, families with other surnames have been locating in the village. However, the major surname, Liao, is possessed by over fifty per cent of the residents at present.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER IV

FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

128
621
571
602
182

The social organization of Sanlei can be broken into three logical divisions: formal organization, kinship, and voluntary associations. The first division, concerned with governmental or quasi-governmental units, is the topic of this chapter with the other two following in turn, one chapter each. This separation into three sections is an analytical device adopted in this paper for convenience. In village social life, all three divisions are inter-dependent and inter-twined. It is extremely difficult to categorize a concrete unit of behavior into only one of the three divisions. For example, a man votes (formal organization) for his cousin (kinship) who is a sworn brother (voluntary association). Both formal and informal mechanisms of social control will also be considered in this chapter because, in the context of the village, they are nearly impossible to analytically separate and furthermore, both are an intimate part of formal social organization.

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER V

KINSHIP

According to Marion Levy (1967:67-83) perhaps the most significant feature of traditional China was that it was family oriented to an overwhelming degree. The family was an overriding focus for individual loyalty, the basic unit for production and consumption, and finally, the basic unit in terms of which the allocation of power and responsibility took place. Further, the family was a basic building block in larger agnatic groups. Implicit in Levy's discussion is the importance of kinship in village life.

Although kinship units in Sanlei Ts'un are a significant factor in the social life of the village, the above picture exaggerates their importance. Even Marion Levy points out (1967:69) his description is an ideal seldom approached by the peasant. Since Sanlei is a peasant village which does not contain any wealthy individuals, it would not be expected to approach the ideal. Yet, kinship groups are singularly important in village social life.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

128 • 602 [769] This chapter provides a picture of the family and larger kinship organizations in Sanlei Ts'un. The Chinese system is usually classified as patrilocal, patrilineal, and patriarchal (Murdock, 1967:194-7). Religious values, particularly the worship of ancestors, support continuation of the family along the male line.[1] Families are combined into larger agnatic groups. Although these general values are important, it will be demonstrated that compromises are often made with some aspects to achieve others which have higher ratings. Birth, marriage, and adoption are all processes which can be used to create and enlarge kinship units. We shall see how family units use these processes strategically to achieve certain goals.

The chapter will begin with a description of the nature and distribution of family types in Sanlei Ts'un followed by a consideration of the nature of the role of family head, particularly with reference to sex differences. A discussion of the forms and processes which change the family composition and their present distribution in the village completes the static picture of the family. There follows a dynamic view of the various types of family life cycles in Sanlei which draws on specific underlying values in the village, the cultural processes available, and the demographic factors affecting Taiwanese

128
602 village populations. Finally, the structure and function of larger agnatic units are considered.

Family versus Household

592 According to Lang, the economic family, the chia, is a "unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (1946:13). The chia is sometimes contrasted with the household, the hu, which could include such temporary residents as more distant relatives, servants, or workers. If common-law marriages are included along with regular marriage since they are so accepted in the village, the chia and hu are always identical in Sanlei Ts'un. Both the Sanlei villagers and I agree that the chia and hu in Sanlei are identical, consisting of the group who live together, share economics, and cook and eat together as a regular practice.

Household Registration

217
659 Formal population registration is required for all people in Taiwan. Sanlei records are maintained in the township office in Hsin Tien. The record, which is maintained by hu as the unit of registration, includes an identification number, the address of the family, the name of the head of the household (chia chang), and a brief history of the family including such information as relocations, divisions, etc. For each individual in the

597 if the boy learns about his natal home he will have a strong desire to return to it permanently.

597 602 The second type is not quite a complete adoption socially although legally it is a standard adoption. Two of the seven Sanlei adoptions were of this form, an adoption between two closely-related family units which are usually composed of patrilineal kinsmen. A son might be given by one man who had several sons in adoption to his brother who had none. Since the household containing the two brothers may not have divided, this adoption may not involve a physical movement of the boy and in any case, the two families will usually remain intimate. In one of the Sanlei adoptions, two brothers were involved.

The other was deviant and involved matrilineal stepbrothers in an undivided household (illustrated in Figure 8). After Huang (1) died, leaving one son (5) his wife (2) remarried a Liao (3) and they had one son, a Liao (4). They all constituted a single economic family. Huang (5) married and had five children, all with the surname of Huang. Liao (4) married and had a daughter but his wife (7) ran away with a Mainland soldier, taking the child (8). The balance of the people on the diagram are now living as a single economic unit and worshipping two sets of ancestors, Liao and Huang, but these arrangements would not leave anyone to properly continue worship of the Liao line, i.e., there are no longer any Liao in the

youngest generation. Huang (5) gave up his second son (6) to Liao (4) in adoption, and his surname (6) was changed from Huang to Liao. Since the household continues as a single chia, the adoption may appear to be a trivial structural modification but this is not true for the adopted son (6) will be different from his siblings in worship and inheritance. He (6) is now attending a junior high school as the only person in the family who has ever gone beyond elementary school, the extra cost borne by his adopted father (4).

Adopted boys originate in a manner distinctively different from the manner described for girls. On the one hand, boys are seldom given up as a surplus. They tend to be first or second in birth order and often are merely

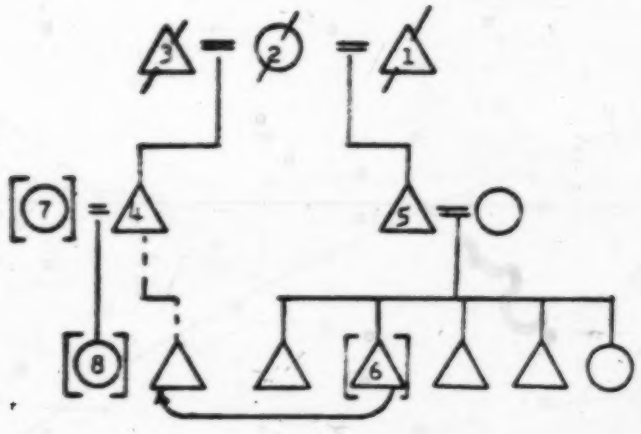

Figure 8. Kinship Diagram, Huang Wen-sheng Chia

428 the Sanlei family will inevitably divide into the three
59 units described above, i.e., (2,5), (3,6), and (4).

59 The major original defining characteristic of the
354 household (hu) was those who cook and eat together. Family division frequently appears to revolve around this function. It would appear that if a household divided in half, the two new units could cook and eat separately but continue to share a single stove, but this never occurs. A new stove must be constructed; hopefully, the stove will be in a separate room but if space is not available, a second stove will be built in the original kitchen. Each new household will then share the kitchen but use their own stove. A popular method of referring to family division is to call it "the separation of the stove" (see Glossary C). To refer back to the previous discussion, in a divided family with the old folks alive, they will never have a separate stove. They either eat in turn with each new unit or eat regularly with one unit while the others contribute food.

Basis for a Diachronic Approach to the Family

121 The foregoing has provided both a static view of the
182 distribution of family types in the village and an explana-
• 602 tion of various mechanisms which affect its membership and
59 existence: birth, marriage, adoption, and division. I now propose a dynamic view of the family life cycle designed to reveal the major patterns in the village. In other

121 words, rather than a series of snapshots, there is an at-
182 tempt to provide a moving picture. This mode of analysis
• 602 drews heavily on the concepts presented by Buchler and
59 Selby (1968:52-58) which combine both jural rules and statistics. Built into the analysis are the constraints of demographic factors, specifically birth rates, death rates, and age at marriage.

Although the number of stages in the life cycles of families identified in various societies differ considerably,[10] Fortes (1962:2-5) has suggested that the developmental cycle in the domestic group may follow the general paradigm listed below:

1. Phase of Expansion: Offspring are economically, effectively, and jurally dependent on their parents.
2. Phase of Dispersion or Fission: Marriage of the first child until marriage of the last.
3. Phase of Replacement: Until death of both parents.

This general paradigm will be followed for Sanlei village without any attempts at further proliferation of stages.

Postulates Affecting the Family Life Cycle

Additionally, I have derived the following set of what might be called a combination of rules, beliefs, and cultural values bearing on the family which must be taken into consideration in the analysis of family life cycle patterns in Sanlei village. There is no attempt to be

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

59
602
121
182

(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[561] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[887] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

618 the result of which caused one Liao to pledge for himself
[262] and his descendants never to eat the head of the chicken. Thus, the Liao in Sanlei are divided into two subdivisions neither of which can trace actual descent: "those who eat" and "those who do not eat" chicken heads. Those who do not eat chicken heads regard themselves as closer relatives than those who do, for obviously they must share an ancestor more recent in genealogical depth than the original founder. In spite of this shared genealogical relative who was nearer than the founder, descent is still not really demonstrated. A Liao usually called both kinds of Liao ch'in t'ang and distinguished the two subdivisions by means of reference to eating or not eating chicken heads. There is no similar "in-group" feeling for those who eat chicken heads, a local delicacy.

602 538 551 The second area difficult to classify revolves around another kind of question as to whether or not descent is truly demonstrated. Sometimes a significant individual will compose or commission a poem to be written. He gives his children the first word of the poem as a middle name; grandchildren, the second, etc. The poem may continue to be followed or be abandoned by some or all lines of descent. If two people have the same surname and the same middle name, they compare father's, grandfather's, etc., middle names and if identity is established, they assume they have a common ancestor, i.e., the poem writer

602 or commissioner even though neither can really trace the
538 chain of ancestors linking themselves to him. For example,
551 if two men share the seventh word, their fathers the sixth, and grandfathers the fifth, they assume a shared ancestor eight generations earlier although neither has knowledge of any ancestors beyond grandparents. There are two such poems in process in Sanlei Ts'un, one of which is registered in the Liao Temple[11] near Taipei.

602 The poem system is not wholly accurate as a basis
538 for establishing relationships because, for religious
183 reasons, a child may get a unique middle name or someone who is not a regular descendant may start naming his descendants according to the poem. In this case he will match the generation number of his child to the poem word that has that generation number. After several generations pass, it is possible that no one would know that a line using the poem did not truly extend back to the poem writer or commissioner (or vice versa). Thus, although lines using the poem are assumed to share an ancestor closer than the founder, once more descent is not truly demonstrated. Nevertheless, people sharing a poem name are felt to be closer relatives than people not sharing one.

618 The above beliefs define a number of groups in the
602 village: those named Liao,[12] Liao who do not eat the chicken head, and two non-inclusive sets of Liao who are

following a poem. However, none of these groups are a very important part of village social organization. They are consanguine groups and consanguine relatives are closer than non-relatives and this fact does play some part in establishing social relationships such as friendship, work exchanges, money lending, etc. The groups do have some importance for socio-political events for factional leaders often utilize kinship identities to solicit support. However, none of the above groups can really be defined by corporate holdings other than burial plots or even by ritual.

In only one case does a group approach the definition by Hu (1948:10), membership may be "spread over a wider region, it has its focus in one community which is always associated with ancestral graves and the ancestral hall." There is no ancestral hall. However, about fifty years ago, a Sanlei villager returned to his family's original village in Fukien to visit. Among other things, he registered people in the old ancestral halls and copied genealogical histories and became intrigued with the large lineage burial plots found in Fukien. Upon his return to Taiwan, he managed to unite three of five descent lines from a single man in establishing a single large and elaborate burial plot. (The area surrounding Sanlei is rated particularly highly in terms of <u>feng shui</u>[13] for burial and possesses many elaborate tombs.) Earlier burials of some

602 of the deceased in the three lines were collected from
769 their various resting places and placed in the site and the subsequent burials of descendants of the three lines have continued, thus creating and maintaining a corporate group.

602 The meaning of the phrase, three descent lines, must be explained. In the original village in Fukien, a man had five sons. After he died, the five sons with wives and children separated into five families who all migrated to Sanlei. Descendants of each of the five continue to identify themselves as members of separate groups, each focused on one of the five brothers. Although villagers call each of the five groups a fang, the term has been translated in various ways in the traditional literature. Based upon work by Lin, Freedman calls fang a sub-lineage (1958:36) while H. C. W. Liu (1959:99) terms it a branch or sub-branch of a clan, literally "house." Use of fang in Sanlei does not seem consistent with these definitions but instead follows the pattern described by Cohen (1969: 167), i.e., fang is applied to patrilineal descent unit segments of various sizes and complexity even to the extent of labeling the nuclear family units in a single ta chia t'ing (extended household).

602 Villagers distinguish the collective descendants
769 of each of the five brothers as separate fang, each numbered in the original birth order of the brothers. Thus,

602 769 first fang refers to the descendants of the oldest brother. There was originally a process of fission into five fang. The man who visiting the mainland managed to fuse three of the five into this one ritual unit which does not have a distinct classification, although acting as a corporate group. The basis for the fusion merely seemed to be the willingness to contribute labor and money to build the elaborate tomb. Although individuals continue to keep track of the separate fang, this combination of three is the only large ritual kinship unit in the village. The members (descendants) gather once each year to clean the grave and worship, a process consuming about four to five hours.

The Compound

121 596 In a discussion of the varieties of forms lineage organizations assume in Southeastern China, Freedman (1958: 131-3) creates a continuum with ideal types A at one end and Z at the other. Z is large (2000 to 3000 members), rich, segmented, and heterogeneous in reference to the social class of its members while A is small (200 to 300 members), poor, and relatively homogeneous. The only agnatic groups larger than a single family in Sanlei (other than the combination of three fang described above) which regularly function as units and which own property in common are smaller than the A model at one end of the

596 In summary, the "compound" is a corporate kinship
• 602 unit which functions jointly for ritual purposes, and owns property, the kung t'ing, in common. There are several such units in Sanlei. In worship, they are all like the previously listed Hakka community (Cohen, 1969) in this merging of domestic and compound (agnatic unit) worship and unlike the communities described in the reports of Gallin (1966) and Freedman (1958) in which there is a separation between domestic and compound or lineage worship.

769 The crucial item in the ancestral ceremony is not the ancestor tablet although these are occasionally present but the ancestral incense pot, hsiang lu. The ancestral table which occupies a central place in each village kung t'ing (see Figure 4), always has at least one ancestral pot and almost always a god's pot in addition. Sometimes there is more than one ancestral pot, each with a different surname. An adopted-in husband often brings his own ancestor pot with his own surname. Given the high incidence of adopted-in husbands that have occurred over an extended period of time, this pot multiplication is quite common. Additionally, some women occasionally bring in their family ancestral pots, especially when they were the last of a line. Pots with different surnames are usually separated by a small board fence in accordance with the belief that ancestors with different surnames fight. Worship of all pots on a single table is performed regularly.

245 The Chiu family has produced a large crop of daughters in
472 recent years who have married into Liao families and Chiu
602 has subsequently been getting a larger share of business recently from ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives). Both processors have kinship relationships with many tea farmers, their own customers and their competitor's customers as well. Although kinship identities are only one aspect of the relationship (other aspects include such as sworn brothers, mutual friends, etc.), it is possible to approximately assess the relative strength of various kinship categories. That is, a man seldom will sell to another processor if his father, brother, father's brother, or mother's brother is a processor. However, he usually sells to his wife's father or wife's brother rather than a more distant kinsman on his own side of the family, i.e., a first or second cousin. As Chiu girls marry Liao boys, there is usually no immediate change, but as time passes so that a new generation takes over management of farm and processing from the old generation, some Chiu girls bring their Liao husband's tea production into the Chiu processing business.

245 Both processors periodically entertain the farmers
472 with whom they do most of their business. The tea farmers are divided into two groups, so to speak, each focusing on the respective processor to whom they sell most of their tea leaves.

783 sporadically all during the day. After each character was
796 written, the sand was smoothed out again in preparation
787 for the next. These characters were all special spirit writing, direct communications from the gods which only the shaman is able to read and interpret. The statements may be criticism or praise of specific villagers or general information. Eventually, one character would proclaim when the fire for the walk should be started.

783 After about four hours, around 11:00, everyone quit
796 for lunch. It is possible that the gods could call for the fire within a very few minutes after the ceremony started, but no ceremony in memory however, had ever started before the first day's lunch break. Lunch was much more elaborate than usual and there were many guests in attendance. Outsiders had been arriving all day during the morning to observe the men running in the fields and to become guests for lunch. Few villagers did any regular work that day; even much of the cooking was performed by outsiders such as ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives) or sworn brothers from other villages who worked without pay. In turn, Sanlei would provide cooks for ceremonies, funerals, and weddings in other villages. Four sworn brother associations gathered for an extra lunch together. Politicians from Hsin Tien and the county visited each of the associations in turn for a few minutes and also visited the lunches hosted by the more important people.

602
573
628
66

000 important event: life crises, health, and economic. The
778 home is the central focus of worship and in all but two
[353] village homes, the most elaborate and expensive furnishings
are those connected with worship. The second most impor-
tant center is the temple which is the most elaborate and
771 expensive building in the community. Although Sanlei vil-
62 lage is highly integrated, only for religion does the com-
182 munity gather in one place to act cooperatively with any
182 degree of frequency. At the li level, the temple and
632 religion serve a similar function except that in addition
771 to religion, politics and the school also feature commun-
771 ity-wide cooperation and joint activities. Religion is
602 the unifying element, at least on a manifest basis, of
182 larger kinship organizations such as the compound and
575 lineage and such voluntary organizations as the sworn
brothers and god's associations.

771 Religious values support the dictums of social con-
626 trol. Although there are reasonably high levels of skep-
182 ticism regarding the efficacy of religious acts, no man is
truly an atheist, i.e., although many claim not to believe
that a particular act works or has power for good or evil,
almost everyone is afraid not to perform the required
ritual when it is specified as appropriate.

771 There are so many kinds of religious and magical
183 functionaries, that one can be found to recommend almost
182 any kind of desired action. This recommendation supports
79

582 who regarded the proscription as binding although no one could remember the story of the fight which caused the pledge to be promulgated.

602 581 Gallin has discussed the significance of matrilateral and affinal relationships in a Taiwanese village (1960) in a manner which is equally valid in Sanlei for such relatives are very important. In a dispute or when one has problems, affinal relatives are sources of support and they have important roles in weddings, funerals, etc. Any marriage then, is likely to establish permanent relationships between two families. Many an adopted-in husband is without a family at the time of marriage, i.e., originally his parents had few children and are both dead, because the absence of a family is a defect lowering the value of a man as a marriage prospect, thus promoting a chao fu marriage.

591 There are other personal and socioeconomic factors affecting the selection of marriage partners. For example, it is best if the boy's family is a little richer than the girl's. In Sanlei, there is a tendency for tea-processing families to intermarry in order to preserve requisite skills and knowledge within a limited group. Also, efforts are expended to make sure the bride and groom are about equal in terms of popularity, physical beauty, etc., as many people claim great differences are more likely to lead to divorce.

761 562 adopted-in husband marriage which was supposed to produce children but which will now be impossible.

764 593 602 562 Regular funerals are usually held only for married people with children[8] and the kind of ceremony held does furnish a clue to the relative status of males and females. In similar social positions, the ceremony for a male will be more elaborate than that for a female. In a single household however, it is likely that the ceremony for a married-in female who has borne several children will be much more elaborate than that for her husband's unmarried male brother although both died at the same age. This fact does support my contention that the woman with children is fully incorporated into her husband's chia. The bulk of the most elaborate funerals ever witnessed in the village area are those of females but this is not due to a preference for females but only due to the fact that women tend to outlive men. The oldest people are usually females and as stated, the more descendants a person has, the larger the funeral ceremony.

761 There are significant differences relating to natural death versus accidental death. Natural death is the result of old age or disease while accidental death involves violence such as a fall or a mine cave in. Natural death is 763 celebrated in the kung t'ing and if it looks like someone is about to die, he is moved to the kung t'ing to await death. 764 On the other hand, a body of an individual who had an accidental death may not be brought into the kung t'ing or any